

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 OPR-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00

OMB-01 CU-02 FRB-03 AID-05 CIEP-01 SAM-01 SCCT-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 IO-10

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P R 271700Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1893

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 2070

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, XY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS RETURNS TO CYPRUS

1. SUMMARY: ARCHBISHOP ENDS 10-DAY, FOUR-NATION TOUR CLAIMING FULL SUPPORT FROM ARAB STATES. PUBLIC RECORD INDICATES HE GAVE ARAB LEADERS FAR MORE SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSES THAN THEY IN TURN GAVE HIM ON CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE USED TRIP AS OCCASION FOR SOME RATHER NASTY GRATUITOUS ANTI-AMERICAN REMARKS. END SUMMARY

2. PRESIDENT MAKARIOS RETURNED TO CYPRUS JUNE 26, FOLLOWING 10-DAY VISIT TO EGYPT, SYRIA, IRAQ, AND LIBYA. IN AIRPORT REMARKS (REFS FBIS TA261835Z AND TA270815Z JUNE NOTAL), ARCHBISHOP SAID HIS TRIP HAD OPENED WAY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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GREATER GOC COOPERATION WITH ARABS IN "COMMERCIAL,

ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND OTHER FIELDS".
HE CLAIMED ARAB LEADERS HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR
"OUR STURGGLE TO REGAIN FULL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS." HE SAID TURK PROPAGANDA IN ARAB AND MOSLEM WORLD, THOUGH VERY ACTIVE, HAD SO FAR YIELDED POOR RESULTS. THROUGHOUT, ARCHBISHOP REFUSED GO INTO MANY DETAILS OF VISITS, OR RESULTS HE CLAIMED TO HAVE OBTAINED.

3. ANSWERING QUESTIONS, MAKARIOS SAID:

A. LIBYAN LEADERS HAD OFFERED "FULL CLARIFICATION" OF THEIR POLICY IMMEDIATELY AFTER CYPRUS COUP. GOL HAD IMPRESSION IT WAS WORKING FOR RETURN OF ARCHBISHOP TO CYPRUS BUT HAD BEEN "MISLED."

B. WHILE IN LIBYA, HE HAD SIGNED AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT. OTHER ACCORDS TO FOLLOW IN FIELDS OF CIVIL AVIATION, ECONOMIC & TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, BANKING.

C. ALL FOUR ARAB STATES HAD SUPPORTED "LAWFUL GOVERNMENT" OF CYPRUS.

D. HE HAD DISCUSSED WAYS OF CARRYING OUT "JOINT STRUGGLE" WITH ARAB LEADERS, BUT HE REFUSED GIVE DETAILS. ASKED ABOUT HIS EARLIER COMMENT THAT CYPRUS HAS MUCH TO LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE OF PALESTINIANS, MAKARIOS DECLINED ANSWER, IN ORDER "AVOID MANY MISINTERPRETATIONS". HE LATER ADDED THAT ARAB WORLD COULD HELP REACH SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM, BUT HE DECLINED TO CITE "PRACTICAL WAYS" BY WHICH THIS COULD BE DONE.

E. DENKTASH PROPOSAL OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS MATTER OF "LOW PRIORITY AND IS DESIGNED TO UNDERMINE GOC'S AUTHORITY.

F. HE HAD NOT RECEIVED INVITATION TO CSCE SUMMIT BUT "WOULD DEFINITELY WISH TO ATTEND SUCH A CONFERENCE".

4. COMMENT. IN GENERAL, MAKARIOS SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN MUCH MORE SUPPORT TO HIS ARAB HOSTS THAN THEY GAVE HIM IN RETURN. IN THIS SENSE, EGYPT WAS HIGH POINT FOR GOC CAUSE: ASSAD, AL-BAKR, QADDHAFI NEVER EQUALLED SADAT'S PUBLIC BACKING FROM ARCHBISHOP. ABSENCE OF ANY COMMUNIQUE FROM DAMASCUS, IMPOVERISHED REFERENCES TO CYPRUS PROBLEM IN BAGHDAD AND TRIPOLI
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COMMUNIQUE (FBIS JN241912Z AND LD261752Z JUN NOTAL RESPECTIVELY) INDICATIVE OF THIS IMBALANCE. NOT SURPRISINGLY, GOC MEDIA TRIED TO GIVE IMPRESSION THAT MAKARIOS HAD RECEIVED MAJOR BACKING FROM ARAB LEADERS: E.G., PIO HANDOUTS CLAIMED THAT AL-BAKR HAD "CONDEMNED ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS IN CYPRUS", THAT QADDHAFI HAD GIVEN "FULL SUPPORT TO CYPRUS" AND MAKARIOS PERSONALLY. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT ANY ARAB LEADER GAVE MORE THAN

LIP SERVICE TO GOC, OR CONDEMNED GOT ACTIVITY ON CYPRUS.

5. ARCHBISHOP BASED HIS PUBLIC APPEALS TO ARAB AUDIENCES ON: COMMONALITY OF STRUGGLE AND ENEMIES CONFRONTING ARAB, CYPRUS PEOPLES; INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CYPRUS AND ARAB PROBLEMS IN SENSITIVE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA; TIGHTER COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS. IN RETURN FOR ARAB WILLINGNESS RECEIVE HIM AND GRANT AT LEAST RHETORICAL SUPPORT. ARCHBISHOP GAVE A LOT. HE BACKED MAJOR ARAB LINES TO HILT: RE ISRAELI AGGRESSION, JERUSALEM, RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS (INCLUDING SELF-DETERMINATION). HE ACCEPTED COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON MANY EXTRANEIOUS ISSUES DEAR TO RADICAL ARABS: VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. AS HE DID IN 1973, HE AGAIN BACKED QADDHAFI'S PROPOSAL TO CONVERT MEDITERRANEAN INTO "SEA OF PEACE" FREE OF FOREIGN BASES AND FOREIGN FLEETS.

6. MAKARIOS WOVE SNIDE REFERENCE TO IMPERIALISTS, NATO ALLIANCE INTERESTS INTO SOME PUBLIC REMARKS. ARAB RADIOS SAY HE CLAIMED CERTAIN POWERS TRYING TURN CYPRUS INTO BASE (OR "SPRINGBOARD") FOR USE AGAINST ARAB STATES: PLO'S ARAFAT MADE SAME CLAIM TO SEMI-OFFICIAL PHILELEFTHEROS (REF FBIS AT261030Z JUN NOTAL). ARCHBISHOP APPEARS TO HAVE CRITICIZED USG FOR VARIOUS REASONS. SPECIFICALLY, HE BLAMED USG FOR NOT PREVENTING SECOND TURK INVASION (REF DAMASCUS 2369) AND TOOK GRATUITOUS SWIPE AT SECRETARY WHILE IN IRAKLION (REF ATHENS 4701).

7. LOCAL PRO-MAKARIOS PRESS-PARTICULARLY COMMUNIST HARAVGHI AND LYSSARIDES ' TA NEA-- HAS HAILED NEWLY-STRENGTHENED ARAB SOLIDARITY WITH CYPRUS. SEMIOFFICIAL PHILELEFTHEROS JUNE 27 DESCRIBED LIBYA AS "CONSISTENT, UNSELFISH FRIEND." OPPOSITION PATRIS COMPLAINED THAT NO ARAB STATE HAD CALLED FOR WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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WARNED THAT "SATANIC" TURK PROPAGANDA MIGHT UNDO GOOD RESULTS WHICH MAKARIOS HAD OBTAINED ON ARAB TOUR.

8. SCANT COVERAGE IN TURK CYPRIOT PRESS CRITICAL OF BOTH MAKARIOS AND ARAB HOSTS WHO TOOK PRO-GOC POSITIONS. LOCAL TURK PRESS GAVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO CONCURRENT TRIP OF VEDAT CHELIK TO SAUDI ARABIA, CLAIMING THAT SAUDIS RECEIVED HIM AS "MINISTER OF STATE." CRAWFORD

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